THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER.

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

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THE RIGHT OF SEARCH.

TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ABERDEEN, &c. &c.

My Lord,—The high importance which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society attach to the proposed Commission, instituted by the Governments of France and Great Britain, with a view of substituting a new mode of suppressing the slave-trade, equally efficacious in its character with the right of search; and being most anxious to contribute to the removal of one great cause of irritation, if not of danger, between the two countries, they take the liberty of laying before your Lordship the views they entertain on this delicate and important subject.

The African Institution, composed, as your Lordship will recollect, of the most illustrious men of this country, for rank, talent, and philanthropy, after a protracted struggle of twenty years with the giant evil, closed its labours and its reports with these remarkable words:—"It is in *slavery*, that the slave-trade has its origin: it is the market provided by the slaveholder which furnishes the direct incentive to all the crimes of a trade in slaves; to the murders and conflagrations which attend their capture; to the condensed horrors of the middle passage which follow it; and to the misery and desolation of a continent." Having thus indicated the source of the evil, the Institution deliberately asserts that in the abolition of slavery alone can we reasonably hope for the extinction of the slave-trade.

Following in its course, though directing its efforts principally to the abolition of slavery in the British colonies, the Anti-Slavery Society became confirmed in the conviction that, "slavery is the root from which springs the enormous—the dreadful accumulation of horrors incident to the slave-trade." In a pamphlet on the subject issued by its Committee, in 1837, the point is thus forcibly alluded to. After depicting the horrors of the slave-trade, adopting the language of their predecessors, they ask, "Who will venture to affirm, that, viewed in the whole range of their results, the atrocities of the slave-trade, though more palpable to observation, and striking more directly and forcibly on the senses, outweigh in the sum of misery they produce, the evils of slavery; of a protracted and irremediable and perpetual servitude, living through the life of the slave, and renewed in his children, and childrens' children to the latest generations? Let any man but think of the perpetually impending scourge, the interminable toil to which it urges, the stocks, the blows, the contempt, the degradation, the hunger, the lassitude, the disease, the agony of broken and bleeding hearts, and all the nameless, and scarcely conceivable inflictions which await those, whose own destinies, and those of every endeared relative—wife, husband, child—are bound up in the will of any individual who claims them as his slaves, without any effectual, nay, without any possible protection from law against his tyranny and caprice." "Let any one but think," they add, "of all this, and he will perhaps see no very cogent reason for exempting slavery from a moral reprobation, to the full extent as severe as we pass on the slave-trade, or for not exhibiting it alike as an outrage on every principle of justice, humanity, and true religion."

In pointing out the true remedy for the slave-trade, they observe:—"Once more we solemnly repeat, that by the total abolition of slavery only, can the slave-trade be annihilated. Destroy the demand of the slaveholder, and there will be no longer a traffic, carried on to supply wants which shall no longer exist; but whilst a demand, whether for merchandise, or for men, does exist, all experience shows that hopes of gain will tempt unprincipled men, despite of all laws, human and divine, to run every risk in order to supply it."

Guided by the experience of its predecessors, the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was based on the principle "that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings." It was, therefore, resolved that its efforts should be concentrated on the universal abolition of slavery; and that no means should be resorted to, or measures adopted, in the prosecution of its great work, but such as were "strictly of a moral, religious, and pacific character."

Having thus glanced at the opinions entertained by the great body of Abolitionists in this country during the last twenty years, and the ground deliberately taken by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, your Lordship will not be surprised to find that it has never countenanced the suppression of the slave-trade by an armed force; and were its Committee wanting in proofs of the inefficiency, not to say impolicy, of that mode of suppression, the history of the traffic for many years past would abundantly furnish them.

That the British Government have been sincerely desirous of terminating "a scourge which has so long desolated Africa, degraded Europe and America, and afflicted mankind," there can be no doubt—that they have had no sinister object in view in the efforts and the sacrifices they have made to accomplish that noble object is certain—and that they have failed, and will continue to fail, so long as the present mode of suppression is resorted to, appears to the Committee indubitably certain.

In support of this opinion the Committee submit to your Lordship's consideration, the following reasons:—

First, Though treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade have been formally negotiated with nearly all the powers of Europe and America, yet are many of them defective, either as it respects the equipment article, the limits within which the right of search can be legally exercised, or in respect of the duration of time; and the hope, they conceive, must now be abandoned by Great Britain, of ever being able to negotiate with foreign Powers one uniform and comprehensive treaty for the universal suppression of this great evil; and without such a treaty, honestly framed and faithfully executed, the expectations of terminating the traffic by such means is, in their judgment, utterly vain.

Secondly, Not only are the present treaties defective, but they are rendered almost a dead letter, either by a want of cordiality in their execution, or by the positive bad faith of foreign Powers. The United States peremptorily refuses to enter into any treaty with any Power for the suppression of the slave-trade. France is desirous of receding from the stipulations in relation thereto by which she is bound. Brazil refuses to ratify existing conventions, or to proceed any further in the way of negotiation for giving them completion. Spain, after years of delay, reluctantly enacts a law for the punishment of her subjects convicted of having engaged in the inhuman traffic; and Portugal has been coerced into her present engagements. With respect to the South American republics, it is quite clear that most of them have acceded to treaties with this country, at the pressing instances of her Majesty's Government, most unwillingly, after repeated correspondence, and frequent remonstrance. This want of cordial sympathy and co-operation on the part of foreign Powers is, the Committee fear, ominous of defeat on this cherished object of the Government and people of Great Britain.

Thirdly, Supposing, however, there were cordial co-operation on the part of other nations, the vast extent of coast to be watched and guarded presents an insurmountable obstacle to the accomplishment of the object. No fleet of cruizers that this country could send forth to the various coasts of Africa, the West Indies, Brazil, and the Eastern seas, would be adequate to the service. The trade would go on in spite of all efforts to crush it, and terminate only with the demand. In this view of the case the Committee are fully sustained by the high authority of Lord John Russell. When Colonial Minister, his Lordship addressed a communication to the Lords Commissioners of her Majesty's Treasury, in which he says:—"To repress the foreign slave-trade by a marine guard would scarcely be possible, if the whole British navy could be employed for that purpose. It is an evil which can never be adequately encountered by any system of mere prohibition and penalties."

Fourthly, But instead of co-operation, there has been the most flagrant violation of the treaties on the part of Brazil and Spain, and hundreds of thousands of slaves have been torn from Africa to meet the demands of the markets in their respective territories and colonies, and the evil still goes on. Nor is there the least reason to hope that the future will be less pregnant of instances of bad faith than the past. It is admitted that the mortality on the slave population of Brazil is equal to five per cent. *per annum* beyond the natural increase by births; and that the ratio of deaths is greater still in the Spanish colony of Cuba. Here is the ground of an ever increasing demand. It may be, and is conceded, that the cruizing system tends to check the traffic in some directions, or rather to render its prosecution more difficult, and its profits more precarious; but that it has, or can materially diminish its extent, there is no reason to believe or hope. The profits are always sufficient to induce the most desperate adventures, and the activity, energy, and skill of British seamen are continually overmatched by the cunning, fraud, and audacity of the slave-dealers.

Fifthly, It will, the Committee think, be admitted that the attempt to suppress the contraband slave-trade by an armed force, has increased its horrors. The most cursory glance at official papers will show that the greatest possible number of slaves are now crammed into the narrowest possible space, and that consequences at which humanity sickens, are the necessary result.

It is also clear that whilst the active vigilance of the cruizers has tended, occasionally to raise the price of slaves in Brazil and Cuba, it has diminished their value as articles of sale in Africa, so that the slave-dealer reaps a double advantage from every successful transaction in which he is engaged.

Sixthly, The cost to this country, of its efforts to suppress the slave-trade by an armed force, both in treasure and in men, has been immense; millions have been expended in this service inef-

fectually; the object aimed at has not been achieved, and is, in the judgment of the Committee, as distant of accomplishment as ever.

Looking then at the facts of the case:—the utter impossibility of obtaining the general concurrence of all nations in a uniform and comprehensive treaty; the want of cordial co-operation on the part of those already in treaty with this country in the promotion of this great object; the bad faith of those Powers most deeply implicated in the continuance of the traffic; the evils which have arisen from the measures hitherto adopted for its suppression; and the vast expenditure it has involved; the Committee would respectfully ask whether the time has not come for a thorough consideration of the whole subject, and for the abandonment of measures which have been fruitless of good, and provocative of evil.

The Committee look to other means of suppression. They are desirous of creating, where it does not exist, and fostering, where they see the germs of it, a sense of humanity and moral rectitude on the subjects of slavery and the slave-trade; remembering that destitute of the support of public opinion, the due execution of any law is not to be expected. Even in this country, laws held in veneration by past generations have fallen into desuetude when a change in public opinion in regard to them has become general. Governments which are sincere in the laws which they may enact can, and doubtless will, do much to secure their being carried into execution; but that new laws will be effectually executed in countries into which they have been introduced on the suggestions of a foreign Power, however just in principle and noble in design, for the purpose of putting down a profitable traffic, against which no moral feelings exist throughout the whole population, is not to be expected. Governments may enter into negociations, engage in treaties, enact laws, and promulgate ordinances for the abolition of the slave-trade; but the experience of thirty years has proved that all will be in vain if they are not in unison with the feelings, and not supported by the opinions of the people themselves. What then is to be done? The Committee would respectfully reply—Direct all your energies and influence against the system of slavery. An opportunity is now afforded, by the appointment of two distinguished men, to whom their respective Governments have entrusted the consideration of a great question connected with the extinction of the slave-trade. France asks to be relieved from the right of search: in her case the equivalent should be the complete and immediate abolition of slavery in her colonial possessions. This would be a guarantee—the best guarantee which could be given—that her flag should not be surreptitiously employed in feeding them at least with slaves. And, in asking this great act of justice and mercy from France, no indignity would be offered; for her Government, her Legislative Chambers, and her people have resolved that the abolition of slavery shall take place. It is then simply a question of time. Let that be fixed; and the day which proclaims freedom to the unfortunate slave in Martinique and Guadeloupe, in Bourbon and Cayenne, in Senegal and Algiers, be the epoch fixed for the abandonment of the right of search; and for the more intimate union of the two nations, in such other righteous and pacific measures as may tend to relieve the whole family of man from the curse and the degradation of slavery and the slave-trade.

Independently of the great question which so deeply interests the Committee, and which they know is equally appreciated by the philanthropists of France, they most sincerely desire that the relations between the two countries should be of the most intimate, honourable, and friendly character; being thoroughly convinced that the cordial alliance of such powerful nations would not only be mutually advantageous, but be fraught with blessings to mankind at large.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, on behalf of the Committee,
Your Lordship's obedient servant,
(Signed) THOMAS CLARKSON, *President.*

New Broad-street, March 1, 1845.

REPLY.

Foreign Office, March 20, 1845.

Sir,—I am directed by the Earl of Aberdeen to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 7th inst., written in the name of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and stating the views entertained by that body with reference to the Commission which the Governments of Great Britain and France propose to institute for the purpose of inquiring, whether any means can be adopted for the suppression of the slave-trade equally efficacious with the right of search.

Lord Aberdeen feels convinced that it cannot be necessary to assure you that the opinions and suggestions contained in that letter will receive from her Majesty's Government the respectful consideration which is due to the source from which they proceed; and his lordship trusts that it will not be attributed to a want of attention to its contents if, in expressing his thanks for the communication, he forbears from entering into a detailed examination of the views put forth in it, and from discussing at length what may be the most proper, and, taking into account the state of circumstances and of public feeling in Europe, and in America, the most efficient means which this country can adopt for the suppression of the African slave-trade.

That there is too much truth in the opinion expressed by the African Institution, that nothing short of the abolition of slavery will effect a total and certain extinction of the trade, Lord Aberdeen is by no means inclined to deny; and his lordship is therefore disposed to give due weight to your suggestion, that the energies and influence of England should be directed against the system of slavery itself: neither has he any hesitation in assuring the Committee that, upon every legitimate opportunity, the exertions of her Majesty's Government will be employed honestly and zealously for that end.

But the influence of one country upon the domestic institutions of another, those institutions being recognised and upheld by the laws, and closely interwoven with the habits and interests of the people, can rarely be otherwise than slow and uncertain; and it becomes a matter of grave consideration whether in the hope of being able to contribute to the eventual abolition of slavery in Cuba and Brazil, the Government of England would do wisely to abandon those means of direct action against the slave-trade, which, though far from complete in their operation, have not been without their good effect, and are likely, as Lord Aberdeen confidently trusts, to gain in efficiency.

For Lord Aberdeen cannot concur with the Committee in describing the execution by Great Britain of her engagements with foreign Powers, and her strenuous efforts to repress the slave-trade by force, as measures "fruitless of good, and provocative of evil."

It is undoubtedly true, though scarcely to the extent stated by the Committee, that one or two of the treaties in force with foreign Governments are incomplete in their provisions.

It is true, also, that in too many instances, jealousy and mistrust of England have had an unjust influence upon those treaties, and have cramped and counteracted their efficiency; and that the vigorous execution of their provisions by Great Britain alone still leaves a vast amount of evil unremedied, and has even in some degree led to an increase of the horrors and sufferings which the trade inflicts upon its victims.

But on the other hand, it is not to be supposed that the perseverance and singleness of purpose with which England has pursued her course, have been without a good result; nor should it be forgotten, that the suspicion or indifference with which her policy has been viewed by foreign nations, has in some places given way to a better feeling. Her Majesty's Government have of late had good reason to congratulate themselves on the sincere and effective co-operation of the Government of Portugal in the suppression of the traffic on her South African coast, and in the faithful execution by her Commissioners and other officers of the treaty of 1842.

The Government of Madrid have recently, and as her Majesty's Government believe, not reluctantly, but in a spirit of sincerity and good faith, redeemed the engagement taken in the treaty of 1835, for the enactment of a penal law of great severity against the slave-trade.

And, though the unhappy beings yearly landed on the coast of Brazil may still be reckoned by thousands, the increasing demand for labour in that country places it beyond all doubt, that but for the operation of British cruisers the numbers would have been many times multiplied.

The system, moreover, which has recently been adopted, of concentrating the cruizers upon the African coast, promises greatly to increase the efficiency of the force. The number of captures which have been effected during the short time that it has been in operation has been considerably more than usual: and even were the number no greater than heretofore, the saving of life and misery which results from the seizure of every laden slaver on this side of the Atlantic gives a value to success which the Committee are well able to estimate.

Lord Aberdeen directs me thus briefly to notice these points, in order that the Committee may not be led too hastily to decide, that the authority conferred upon our cruizers by the treaties with foreign Powers, is one which ought to be lightly abandoned.

His Lordship does not claim for the right of search any value beyond that which its efficiency as a means of suppressing the slave-trade gives to it. On the contrary, he is convinced, that the war which we carry on against the slave-trade by armed vessels, through the exercise of that right, is full of inconvenience and danger, and, at the same time, very far from complete in its results: but that, so long as slavery shall exist in its present form in the continent and islands of America, whether any other equally effectual method of keeping the trade in check can be devised, Lord Aberdeen is not at present prepared to say: and though to rob the slave-traders of their markets by a general emancipation of the negro race would be a higher and worthier victory over them than any that can be gained by physical force, Lord Aberdeen cannot flatter himself, that the accomplishment of that object in Cuba and Brazil is so near at hand, or so manifestly within the reach of British influence, as to reconcile the parliament and people of this country to the adoption of a course which would leave the slave-trader in the undisturbed possession of the African coast, and at full liberty to prosecute his iniquitous traffic, so long as it should hold out to him the smallest prospect of gain.

With reference, however, to the immediate occasion of your letter and the suggestion with which it concludes, Lord Aberdeen directs me to add that he entirely concurs with the Committee in their opinion of the value which would attach to the abolition of slavery by France in her Colonies; not only as regards its direct effect upon her own possessions, but as an example to the rest of the world of enlightened humanity and justice.

Whether with a view to the general suppression of the slave-trade, such a measure would supply the place of that authority which England and France have conceded to each other over their respective flags; or whether England, in the faithful execution of the task which she has undertaken, would be justified, according to the recommendations of the Committee, in accepting it as an equivalent for that authority, are points into the discussion of which

the Committee will not expect Lord Aberdeen at present to enter. His Lordship feels assured that it will be sufficient both for yourself and them to know that in consenting to the Commission which is about to commence its labours, the chief end which her Majesty's Government have in view is to secure to the cause of African freedom that active, lasting, and cordial co-operation of a great and powerful people, without which, whatever the exertions of this country may be, the true interest of the cause can never be fully and satisfactorily maintained.

I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) Canning.

To Thomas Clarkson, Esq.
&c. &c.

THE COLONIAL GAZETTE.

It is not always that an article is so candidly headed as that in the *Colonial Gazette* of last week, to which the title prefixed is—"The creature 's at its dirty work again." Our contemporary has hit off himself and his doings to a tittle.

He begins his quarrel with us on this occasion, by undertaking the defence of Lord Stanley's order for the discontinuance of allowances to liberated Africans at Sierra Leone, a piece of knight-errantry scarcely less than Quixotic. The order was so mercilessly severe that the Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. Fergusson, found it necessary to modify it in his proclamation of the 12th of June; and the proclamation was so severe that Mr. Under-Secretary Hope, in the House of Commons, found it necessary to say that it was meant only for the negroes, and not for the rule of the Government. In the judgment of our contemporary, however, this order is the very pink of humanity; as, no doubt, anything would be that should drive black men to the West Indies.

The *Gazette* proceeds to charge us with "effrontery" in asserting that the planters of British Guiana did not, even with slaves and the slave-trade, make sugar as cheap as Cuba and Brazil; and his proof is that, at one period, our West India colonies furnished sugar enough to send some to the Continent. There is no doubt of this; but the editor forgets (we cannot suppose he does not know) that at that time a bounty was attached to sugar exported, of from 8s. to 10s. per cwt. It was this, and this alone, which enabled British growers to sell their sugar at a profit in the continental market.

Our contemporary thinks that the other plantations in Guiana would not be as successful in obtaining labour as Everton, even if they were to use similar means. We do not see why this should be. That there are many unemployed hands in the colony is strongly asserted by the *Berbice Gazette*, and admitted by the *Colonial*; why should not good treatment be effectual with these as well as with others? It is, at all events, too soon to affirm the negative, since the experiment has not been made. Might it not be as well to try it?

The editor of the *Colonial Gazette* vouches for the common sense of the Guiana planters and their knowledge of their own interests. We think he is somewhat venturous in this. For our own part, we believe that those of them who are so eager for immigration are very much mistaken.

In fine, our contemporary brings against us some letters of the Rev. Mr. Wallbridge to the *Guiana Times*, of which he gives the sum in the following words:—"Why should I oppose the immigration of free black labourers any more than of other persons? In short, he opposes only a certain kind of immigration." Now, this is exactly what we do also. As to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* contending (as the *Gazette* alleges) "that all or any immigration of blacks is uncalled for and noxious," it is a pure fiction; an allegation not only without evidence, but made in defiance of most direct and repeated contradiction.

BRITISH GUIANA.—VOYAGE OF THE "ROGER STEWART."

COURT OF POLICY, Wednesday, *Feb.* 5, 1845.

A letter from the immigration agent-general inclosed a letter from the agent at Berbice, detailing the distribution of the immigrants arrived by the *Roger Stewart*, and stating that they had been landed immediately on their arrival, and distributed at once among the estates, on the advice of the Government Secretary.

Mr. Stuart. The agent at Berbice certainly gives a most extraordinary reason for locating these immigrants in such numbers on a few estates. The hon. Secretary may have told him to land them as soon as possible after their arrival; but I am sure he never told him that he was to give 57 to one estate, 85 to another, and so on.

Government Secretary. The only point upon which he consulted me was, whether he should hire a house for the reception of the immigrants upon their arrival. I told him, certainly, it would be unnecesary to go to that expense, as those who were in good health could be sent at once to the respective estates on which they were to be located, and the sick could be sent to the hospital. That arrangement I considered preferable to either hiring a place for them, or suffering them to remain several days on board the vessel in the river.

Mr. Stuart. It is most unjust to locate them in such numbers on a few estates, when other estates in the county are absolutely abandoned for want of hands; and that, too, without any instructions from the Governor. The estates which got them by fifties and more are not so much in want of labour as others which got none.

Government Secretary. But those who ran some risk are entitled to something for their money.

Mr. Stuart. For what money? Have they not come up for payment of the expenses? They advanced no money.

Collector of Customs. Oh yes, they did.

Mr. Stuart. For what?

Governor. They advanced the money to send the vessel.

Government Secretary. The charter money.

Mr. Rose. I can't help expressing my opinion on this occasion, for the communication which has been read is of too important a nature to be passed over in silence. No recommendation from Mr. Butts, however urgent, could induce us to sanction the charter of vessels at Berbice to proceed to Sierra Leone for immigrants to be distributed among a few favoured individuals in that county. If any vessel is to be chartered, she must be chartered and sent thither on account of the colony of British Guiana. But certain parties, under representations which I believe to be not exactly in accordance with truth, have succeeded in sending a vessel on a voyage to Sierra Leone. I hold in my hand the copy of a letter addressed by Mr. Butts, at Sierra Leone, to Messrs. Laing, in Berbice. [The hon. member read the letter: it stated that the writer had received a copy of the *Royal Gazette*, in which he observed an editorial article asserting, on the authority of a private letter received by a gentleman in Berbice, that large numbers of Africans were at Sierra Leone anxiously awaiting the arrival of vessels to convey them to this colony; and, as the Messrs. Laing were the only persons in Berbice to whom Mr. Butts had written; and as such statements made, apparently, on the strength of information communicated by him, were calculated to place him in a false position with the Governor, whose agent he was, he called upon them to place at his Excellency's disposal those paragraphs of his letter which held out such hopes as were expressed in the newspaper before him. Mr. Rose proceeded:]—Now there is, in a letter before this Court, a statement that information of this nature has been received from Mr. Butts; that on his urgent recommendation parties have not only again chartered the *Roger Stewart*, but they have also chartered another vessel to send to Sierra Leone for immigrants, and that they therefore hope his Excellency the Governor will renew the license for the one vessel, and grant another license for the other, to proceed to Sierra Leone for immigrants, not for the benefit of the colony at large, but for the benefit of a few individuals, or at all events, of the county of Berbice alone. I have said, on a former occasion, that I believed the parties had received no such communication from Mr. Butts. I say now, openly and publicly in this hall, that they had no such authority from Mr. Butts, and that I have it under his own hand that they had not. His Excellency the Governor has very properly withheld his license for the present, and I trust he will not grant a license for any vessel, chartered by individuals, to proceed again on a voyage for immigrants. I hold that it is not just to the colony, for half-a-dozen persons to be allowed to hire ships, and send them for immigrants to be located on their own properties. If this is to be done, let it be stated so publicly; let us all know how far we are to depend on individual enterprise, and do not let the advantage which may be derived from it be confined to any set of persons, or to any one county. Are half-a-dozen persons, residing in one county, to hire a vessel, send her off, get as many immigrants as she can bring, forwarded by the industry of an agent paid by the colony, divide them among their different estates, and then come up for the bounty, under the immigration ordinance, to pay themselves for doing that from which they have taken care they shall derive the exclusive benefit? If that is the way immigration is to be managed, I am opposed to it. And let us look at the immigrants who were brought by the *Roger Stewart*. According to my calculation, there were but fifty-seven who were not captured Africans. Those fifty-seven were surely competent to select employers for themselves, and they ought to have been allowed to do so. But the others were captured Africans. They are not considered to be persons of sufficient intelligence to provide for themselves in that respect, and their distribution and location is confided to the Governor. Was the Governor consulted in the matter? No. On the arrival of the vessel, they were at once divided amongst a few parties, and sent off to the estates. They just went where they were told to go. In fact, the letter of the agent tells you that they were divided amongst the parties by whom the vessel had been chartered, *pro rata*, according to their risk. And then they come up to us to get the bounty, amounting to 2,000*l.* or upwards! It is preposterous. I say, if they get paid the bounty, I doubt whether they will not make a profit on the speculation, besides the addition of so much labour on their estates. With respect to what has been done, on the strength of any private information which may have been received by gentlemen in Berbice, I do say that a most irregular course has been adopted. I maintain that the gentlemen are not entitled to one farthing. Let them pay the expense out of their own pockets.

Government Secretary. I admit that the gentlemen who availed themselves of the information communicated in a private letter received from Mr. Butts, to get a vessel despatched to Sierra Leone for immigrants on their own account, proceeded without any authority from Mr. Butts, and not in a very regular way. The matter, however, was referred to the Secretary of state, and it was by him that the license was granted. The *Roger Stewart* having, then, been chartered by these gentlemen, they having obtained from the Secretary of state a license for her voyage, and she having performed a most successful voyage, and brought to this colony a large number of immigrants, I trust that the court will not refuse the bounty payable under the immigration ordinance. This is a case which is not likely to occur again. The system of private individuals chartering vessels on their own account, will not, in fact, be tolerated in future. We are told, by the Governor, that private parties will not again obtain a license to send a ship for immigrants. I should regret, therefore, to hear of any further differences about the location of the immigrants in this instance; and I think it better, for the colony itself, that the accounts should be passed. If the immigrants are comfortably settled, we ought to be satisfied. I trust now that honourable members will think with me, and withdraw their objections.

Mr. Stuart. I never questioned the propriety of sending immigrants to the estates on which those by the *Roger Stewart* have been sent. But there are other estates, equally unexceptionable, which are more in want of labour. On the arrival of such people, I say, they should be distributed among those places on which they are most required. I am, however,

satisfied that the thing will not happen again; and I am much disposed to concur with the honourable Secretary, that it will be as well not to withhold the payment of the bounty.

GOVERNOR. I think the parties ought not to be allowed to make money by it.

CHIEF JUSTICE. If it were for the benefit of the colony, the people should have been distributed more equally; but it appears, by the distribution, that they are for the benefit of six individuals.

MR. ROSE. I have but a few words to say in reply. I am aware that lord Stanley disapproves of this mode of obtaining immigrants, and that he considered the application to him for a license rather extraordinary.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. Therefore I say that the thing will not occur again.

MR. ROSE. I did not object to any one of the estates which have been selected. What I objected to was, that they had been sent to those estates as a matter of right, and that his excellency the governor had not been consulted in the matter. I will withdraw my opposition to the payment of the bounty upon his excellency's assuring the court that no more licenses of the same nature will be in future granted.

GOVERNOR. You may depend upon it I will never grant a license, except I consider it for the public good. The agent has orders in all cases in which I do not give special directions, to distribute the people who may arrive in such a manner as will be for the benefit of the colony.

MR. WHITE. I believe the bounty will amount to more than the charter parties have paid. At that rate, they will have the immigrants and a pecuniary profit also. I would, therefore, pay only the expenses of embarkation.

MR. ROSE. If we pay anything, we must pay according to the ordinance. We are not to know anything of the private arrangement.

GOVERNMENT SECRETARY. It has been declared that the system will not be continued. The secretary of state, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, thought proper to grant the license, but no license will again be granted.

The accounts for introducing the immigrants by the *Roger Stewart* were then ordered to be paid.

NOTICES.

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All Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* must be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 2, 1845.

THE readers of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* will perceive by this day's paper, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society have not been unobservant of the attitude which has been taken by the British and French Governments in relation to the right of search. We have the pleasure of publishing to-day a letter which has been addressed by that body to the Earl of Aberdeen on the subject, together with the noble secretary's reply. The latter document will be read, we think, with sincere gratification. Admitting that there is "too much truth" in the opinion that nothing short of the abolition of slavery will effect a total and certain extinction of the slave-trade, Lord Aberdeen "is disposed to give due weight" to the suggestion that the energies and influence of England should be directed against the system of slavery itself;" and he assures the Committee, without hesitation, "that, upon every legitimate opportunity, the exertions of the Government will be employed honestly and zealously for this end." His lordship admits also that the exercise of the right of search is "full of inconvenience and danger, and at the same time very far from complete in its results;" and he adds, that "to rob the slave-traders of their market by a general emancipation of the negro race, would be a higher and worthier victory over them than any that can be gained by physical force." We are unfeignedly happy to hear such sentiments expressed in such a quarter, and shall not quarrel with the guarded and cautious expression of them, which, perhaps, diplomacy requires. The minister was justly entitled, under the circumstances of the case, to the reserve he has used in relation to the particular subject in view; and while, on the one hand, he says that he does not concur in thinking that efforts to suppress the slave-trade by force are altogether "fruitless of good and provocative of evil," it may be enough for us to say, on the other, that the Committee can scarcely be expected to be shaken in their opinion by the defence which he has set up for them. An article of intelligence among our miscellanea is a fearful illustration of the results of the coercive system.

WE are pleased to record the fact that the friends of the anti-slavery cause are stirring in various parts of the country against the nefarious scheme of African and Asiatic emigration to the British colonies. Among the towns in which meetings have been held, or where committees have met, intimation has been given us of the following—Leeds, Exeter, St. Austle, Cotherstone, Aberdeen, Torquay, Stoke Newington, Birmingham, Coventry, Leicester, Derby, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, North Shields, Kendal, Southampton, Youghal, Darlington, Colchester, &c. We may also add that arrangements are making for holding meetings in Nottingham, Sheffield, York, Sunderland, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Carlisle, Preston, Liverpool, Manchester, and other places, on the same important subject. We trust our friends, in other parts of the country, will forward petitions as early as possible, for presentation to the House of Commons.

FROM the United States the important intelligence has arrived since our last, that the question of the Annexation of Texas has been decided in the affirmative in the Senate of the United States, by a majority of two; 27 voting in its favour, and 25 against it. The problem concerning which, according to our last advices, the friends of freedom and humanity in that country were cherishing so much anxiety, is thus solved, and the die is cast. This intelligence is to us, we confess, not only important but afflictive. It is not for us to remark on the character of this measure as an act of national policy, or to speculate on its general bearings; but, confining our view, as we necessarily do, to the question of slavery, we feel the most unfeigned sorrow. If, by the concurrence of the Government of Texas, the annexation should be completed, it can admit of no doubt that it will render this large and fertile region a theatre for a fearfully extended development of the slave system, that it will apply an extraordinary stimulus to the slave-trading and internal slave-trade of the Union, and that it will vastly augment the influence of the slave states in congressional affairs. On remoter and too probable consequences we will not at present speculate; but this much is certain, and we deeply deplore it. Whether the cause of humanity is, in the middle of the nineteenth century, amidst all its lights, and notwithstanding its hopeful progress, really to suffer the whole amount of injury apparently comprehended in so severe a blow, and from what quarter, if from any, a mitigation of its force may be derived, we shall not venture at the present moment to conjecture. So grave a measure must in the end produce consequences of no ordinary amount and complexity, consequences of widely extended ramifications, and stretching far beyond the present ken of the most sagacious eye. There is, at least, but One who knows them, and He is the Supreme Ruler, who, while He has been pleased to permit the event which we deplore, can not only limit its mischiefs, but overrule it for good. It must be our consolation that "the Lord reigneth," and that His administration of human affairs is not the less wise because it is mysterious. His justice, however, does not always sleep, and national crimes sometimes bring an awful, and even a speedy retribution.

We have inserted at length to-day the Message of President Tyler to Congress in relation to the slave-trade, as carried on by citizens of the United States. It will be seen that it contains an extended reference to the proceedings of British merchants also, and even to those of the British Government. This somewhat singular aspect of the Message gave rise to an inquiry in the House of Commons on the 16th ultimo, in reply to which Sir Robert Peel corrected one very obvious mistake into which the President had fallen; that, namely, referring to the condition of liberated Africans in the British West Indies. A correspondent of the *Times*, whose style is too familiar not in a moment to betray the author, rectifies another error which this high functionary commits, when he states that vessels built in America for the slave-trade in Africa make an intermediate voyage to Great Britain. We agree with Sir Robert Peel, that if American Presidents do think proper to talk officially about their neighbours, they should take care to be correctly informed. The correspondent of the *Times* is angry with the English minister for not contradicting President Tyler's intimation that British capital is employed in the slave-trade; but in this point we think the Premier manifested a sound discretion. The writer in the *Times* declares that he never either knew or heard of such a thing. He may have been so deaf, perhaps, as to have heard nothing even of the trial of Pedro de Zulueta; but we have our suspicions that some light might be thrown upon the point if he would communicate to the public only what he knows. The matter, however, is far too notorious to depend for its proof upon either the ears or the tongue of this unscrupulous partizan.

THE last West India mail brought, we are happy to say, highly satisfactory accounts in relation to the crops. The intelligence from the different colonies is thus summed up by our contemporary, the *Times*:—

"From the very favourable season, as well as from the improving cultivation, a larger crop of sugar will be produced in the West Indies than has been obtained for many years. Jamaica, it is said, will make 50,000 hogsheads, Demerara 45,000, and the other islands one-third to a half more than usual. Agricultural improvements are paid considerable attention to, and the plough and other implements of husbandry are fast coming into use, beneficially replacing manual labour, and no doubt will in the end enable the West India planter to compete with slave-grown sugar."

From Jamaica we learn that there is by no means an unmixed feeling of congratulation, even among the planters themselves, in the prospect of Coolie immigration. The *Falmouth Post* thus expresses itself:—

"Hill-Coolie immigration, it is said, will tend to restore us to our former prosperity! We doubt this much; for unless we can get labourers who will *remain* with us, and who will adopt our customs, manners, and religion, the cost of their introduction, and a provision for sending them

back to their native clime, will exceed any temporary advantage that may be derived."

In British Guiana, the voyage of the *Roger Stewart* has given rise to some interesting proceedings in the Court of Policy, which we have inserted at length in another column. The question raised was whether the charterers of that vessel should be paid the bounty assigned by the ordinance, amounting to nearly 2,000*l.*; and objections were strongly urged by Mr. Rose, and other members of the Court, on the ground that the immigrants brought by her had been located, without any reference to the authority of the Governor, and in large numbers, on the estates of the speculators. "I hold that it is not just to the colony," said Mr. Rose, "for half-a-dozen persons to be allowed to hire ships, and send them for immigrants to be located on their own properties. Are half-a-dozen persons residing in one county to hire a vessel, send her off, get as many immigrants as she can bring, forwarded by the industry of an agent paid by the colony, divide them among their different estates, and then come up for the bounty under the immigration ordinance, to pay themselves for doing that from which they have taken care to derive the exclusive benefit? If that is the way that immigration is to be managed, I am opposed to it."

Yet Mr. Rose ultimately yielded to the payment of the bounty, by which the persons who chartered the *Roger Stewart* not only repay themselves all expenses, but put into their pockets a clear profit of nearly five hundred pounds. Something was said, indeed, about such a case not happening again, and about Lord Stanley's disapproving this mode of obtaining immigrants by private speculation; but so little do the parties concerned think of all this, that they have re-chartered the same vessel for a twelvemonth, and have engaged a second for the same traffic. How far the persons thus transported are from having any choice in the matter of their location, appears from the following language, employed by Mr. Rose in his speech:—"According to my calculation," said this gentleman, "there were but 57 who were not captured Africans. Those 57 were surely competent to select employers for themselves, and they ought to have been allowed to do so. But the others were captured Africans. They are not considered to be persons of sufficient intelligence to provide for themselves in that respect, and their distribution and location is confided to the Governor. Was the Governor consulted?" This passage throws a clear light, both on the particular case before us, and on the general practice in the distribution of immigrants. It is evident that the immigrants by the *Roger Stewart* had no choice of place or of employer. They were marched off to certain estates just like so many cattle. And it is further evident that, if the whole matter had been referred to the Governor, he would have allowed no choice to any but the 57 who were not captured Africans, all immigrants of this class being considered incompetent to provide for themselves in this respect. So miserably opposed to its name is this miscalled system of *free* immigration! So false is the oft-repeated assertion, that, when the immigrants set foot on a British colony, they are really and practically freemen! We trust, however, that private speculation in the art of immigration will be put an end to, and that licenses will not be given to the two ships which the intoxicated Berbicians have now chartered for it.

It appears that Lord Stanley has recommended her Majesty to sanction (rather unexpectedly to the good folks of Guiana) the whole of the eight ordinances which have resulted from the revision to which the laws of the colony have lately been subjected. One of these new laws is likely to bear very hard on those of the emancipated class who have purchased land on bad titles—a class of persons, we are sorry to say, too numerous. The law in question enacts the peremptory re-sale of such properties, and the *Guiana Times* thus speaks of its operation:—

"The peasantry came to be implicated in this way.—They would go to the nominal owners of a place, and advance to them in silver, say a hundred dollars a-family, for land to build cottages on. This was but a part of the price of the land; the rest was to be paid as soon as the nominal purchasers, having obtained a legal title to the entire plantation, were in a condition to transfer a legal title to the several portions of it to the sub-purchasers. Many peasants struck such foolish bargains as we have described. And what a prospect the peasantry now have to face! They have invested their money, never to be recovered; built cottages; cultivated provision grounds. Within three weeks, the parties who pretended to sell them the land, will be themselves extruded from the occupancy of it. Within two months, a new purchaser will come in, disposed to pay no respect to the owners of the fictitious freeholds, whom, indeed, he will regard as mere squatters.—The reasons must be pretty obvious, which induce us to forbear from completing the sketch of what may be expected to ensue."

An article of intelligence from Surinam indicates the existence of a ferment in that colony, arising from the opposition of the colonists to the plans of improvement suggested by the Government. It announces also that Mr. Schenley, the British Commissioner, is reaping the reward of a fearless execution of his duty in a prosecution for defamation of character, no doubt in consequence of some of the statements which have appeared in his despatches laid before Parliament. The writer of the letter from Paramaribo says that Mr. Schenley is prosecuted "deservedly," and that "his conduct, if allowed to go on, must give rise to discontent and revolt among the slaves." This is an unequivocal confession that the system of slavery in Surinam is too atrocious to bear the light. Mr. Schenley has spoken nothing but the truth, and a very small part of that, and he ought to be supported by his Government. No functionary can act a humane part in Surinam without exposing himself to the rage of the colonists, who are, we have no doubt, as unwilling to be looked after and detected in their misdeeds, as any body of oppressors in the world. If there should be discontent and revolt in that colony, they will not spring from the revelations of Mr. Schenley, but from the intolerable cruelties he has revealed.

By the *Handelsblad* and the *Staats Courant* we find that the colonists are bringing their grievances forward in the States-General of Holland. A petition on the state of Surinam was a few weeks ago presented to the Second Chamber by G. C. Bosch Reitz and forty-five merchants, and in the usual course referred to a committee, upon the report of which an animated and important discussion has taken place. The pretensions of the petitioners are of the most extravagant description, and demonstrate the resolute tenacity with which the slaveholders of Surinam cling to their tyrannical power. The minister himself took part in the debate, and answered the arguments of the petitioners in a masterly manner. The committee on the petition recommended that it should be deposited in the registry-office, and that a copy of it should be sent to the Minister of the Colonies to obtain the necessary information. In the Chamber it was proposed to appoint a committee to investigate the affair. No resolution, however, was come to, and the discussion was adjourned till after the Easter recess. We are glad that the subject of slavery has come up for discussion in the Dutch Chambers in any form, since we feel assured that the cause of humanity and freedom must gain by it.

Our file of Mauritius papers contains the ordinance after which Sir Robert Inglis inquired, when he mooted in the House of Commons the subject of immigration to the British colonies. Mr. Hope said the Colonial Office had received it only that morning, so that no time had been afforded to examine its provisions; but he gave an assurance that nothing should be sanctioned that could justly be regarded as a slave-trade. If Lord Stanley acts consistently with this assurance, it is impossible that this ordinance can be allowed to go into operation. It permits vessels to collect immigrants along the whole coast of Africa, excepting only such European settlements as are not British; and it must be obvious at a glance that, in many cases, this collection of immigrants can be nothing but the purchase of slaves. This is seen and acknowledged in the colony itself, as is clear from the following language employed by the *Mauritius Watchman*:—

"In our last number we have given the official ordinance for promoting African immigration, and we have nothing to object against its provisions; but we are by no means sanguine of the success of the scheme, under existing circumstances. It is well known that the whole of the eastern coast of Africa is occupied by native and foreign slave-dealers; and the trade has been so long carried on there, that it appears to us very unlikely that the native chiefs, who have been used to regard their subjects and prisoners in no other light than that of chattels, can be made to comprehend anything of the nature of our views in desiring to procure free labourers."

This is common sense, and ought to be decisive with the Government. As to the brig (the *Trois Frères*) which, it is stated, has been taken up by Sir W. Gomm for the purpose of going along the African coast, to open a communication with the native authorities, it is plain beforehand what the result of her voyage must be. She goes to ask for men where they are in the habit of selling men, and she will be supposed to be a purchaser. If the British agent makes himself understood to the effect that he is no purchaser, and that he will give nothing in exchange, he will, in so doing, just ask the chiefs to give him for nothing what they can sell to others for a price. In this case it is plain he can obtain no emigrants. If he would have any, he must offer something in exchange for them,—in other words, he must buy them, which, if there be any meaning in terms, is slave-trading. That such a traffic may be garnished over with certificates that the emigrants embark freely, and so forth, is possible enough; but such disguises will neither alter the nature of the fact, nor impose upon the public of Great Britain. We cannot but believe that the noble Lord at the head of the Colonial department will arrest this incipient mischief without delay, by refusing the sanction of her Majesty in Council to an ordinance which would clearly establish the slave-trade by British law, and set a most fearful and injurious example to other nations.

The *Cernéen* teems with accounts of the multitude of unemployed Coolies (he reports 10,000 of them,) and of the disorderly manner in which they perambulate the country; alleged evils for the remedy of which our contemporary loudly demands a general registry and an enlarged local magistracy. So oppression follows fraud. The Governor, however, takes a different view of the case, as expressed in an official minute presented to the Council. He does not rate the unemployed labourers at more than 1,700. The Minute mentions that many of the labourers were returning to India at their own expense, on the expiration of their first year's contract, particularly those who had come from Madras.

Our contemporary makes the pithy observation, that "the Treasury is short One Hundred and sixty Thousand Pounds."

In the House of Commons on Monday night, on the navy estimates being moved by Mr. Corry, Lord Palmerston spoke at considerable length on the state of the slave-trade question. In the crowded state of our columns we prefer a fuller report of the proceedings in our next number to such a mere abstract as we could give in this.

UNITED STATES.—PRESIDENT TYLER'S MESSAGE ON THE SLAVE-TRADE.

THE papers contain the following Message from President Tyler, to the House of Representatives, on the subject of the trade in slaves by citizens of the United States and British subjects, accompanied by several communications from Mr. Wise, the Minister at Brazil, developing the means used and the devices resorted to in order to evade the existing enactments upon the subject, for which purpose there is stated to be a regular established system.

"TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

"I transmit, herewith, for the information of Congress, copies of certain despatches recently received from Mr. Wise, our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the court of Brazil, upon the subject of the slave-trade; developing the means used and the devices resorted to, in order to evade existing enactments upon that subject.

"Anxiously desirous as are the United States to suppress a traffic so revolting to humanity, in the effort to accomplish which they have been the pioneers of civilised states, it cannot but be a subject of the most profound regret that any portion of our citizens should be found acting in co-operation with the subjects of other powers, in opposition to the policy of their own government; thereby subjecting to suspicion and to the hazard of disgrace the flag of their own country. It is true that this traffic is carried on altogether in foreign ports, and our own coasts are free from its pollution. But the crime remains the same wherever perpetrated; and there are many circumstances to warrant the belief that some of our citizens are deeply involved in its guilt.

"The mode and manner of carrying on this trade are clearly and fearlessly set forth in the accompanying documents; and it would seem that a regular system has been adopted for the purpose of thwarting the policy and evading the penalties of our laws. American vessels, with the knowledge, as there are good reasons to believe, of the owners and masters, are chartered or rather purchased by notorious slave-dealers in Brazil, aided by English brokers and capitalists, with this intent. The vessel is only nominally chartered at so much per month, while, in truth, it is actually sold, to be delivered on the coast of Africa, the charter-party binding the owners, in the meantime, to take on board as passengers a new crew in Brazil, who, when delivered on the coast, are to navigate her back to the ports of Brazil with her cargo of slaves. Under this agreement, the vessel clears from the United States for some port in Great Britain, where a cargo of merchandise, known as 'coast goods,' and designed especially for the African trade, is purchased, shipped, and consigned, together with the vessel, either to the slave-dealer himself or to his agents or accomplices in Brazil. On her arrival a crew is put on board as passengers, and the vessel and cargo consigned to an equally guilty factor or agent on the coast of Africa, where the unlawful purpose originally designed is finally consummated. The merchandize is exchanged for slaves—the vessel is delivered up—her name obliterated—her papers destroyed—her American crew discharged, to be provided for by the charterers, and the new or passenger crew put in command to carry back its miserable freight to the first contrivers of the voyage, or their employers in Brazil.

"During the whole progress of this tortuous enterprise it is possible that neither the American crew originally enlisted, nor the passenger crew put on board in the Brazilian ports, are aware of the nature of the voyage, and yet it is on these principally, ignorant, if not innocent, that the penalties of the law are inflicted; while the guilty contrivers—charterers, brokers, owners, and masters—in short, all who are most deeply concerned in the crime and its rewards, for the most part escape unpunished.

"It will be seen, from the examinations which have recently taken place at Rio, that the subjects of her Britannic Majesty, as well as our own citizens, are deeply implicated in this inhuman traffic. British factors and agents, while they supply Africa with British fabrics in exchange for slaves, are chiefly instrumental in the abuse of the American flag; and the suggestions contained in the letter of Mr. Wise (whose judicious and zealous efforts in the matter cannot be too highly commended), addressed to Mr. Hamilton, the British envoy, as to the best mode of suppressing the evil, deserve your most deliberate consideration, as they will receive, I doubt not, that of the British Government.

"It is also worthy of consideration whether any other measures than those now existing are necessary to give greater efficacy to the just and humane policy of our laws, which already provide for the restoration to Africa of slaves captured at sea by American cruisers. From time to time provision has been made by this Government for their comfortable support and maintenance during a limited period after their restoration, and it is much to be regretted that this liberal policy has not been adopted by Great Britain. As it is, it seems to me that the policy it has adopted is calculated rather to perpetuate than to suppress the trade, by investing very large interests in its favour. Merchants and capitalists furnish the means for carrying it on; manufactures for which the negroes are exchanged are the products of her workshops; the slaves, when captured, instead of being returned back to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling the amount of their products by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years; and the officers and crew who capture the vessel receive, on the whole number of slaves, so many pounds sterling *per capita*, by way of bounty.

"It must be obvious, that while these large interests are enlisted in favour of its continuance, it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic, and that its results would be in effect but a continuance of the slave trade in another and more cruel form; for it can be a matter of little difference with the African whether he is torn from his country and transported to the West Indies, as a slave, in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transported to the same place, and made to perform the same labour under the name of an apprentice, which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted.

"It is to be hoped that her Britannic Majesty's Government will, upon a review of all the circumstances stated in these despatches, adopt more efficient measures for the suppression of the trade, which she has so long attempted to put down, with, as yet, so little success, and more consonant with the original policy of restoring the captured African to his home. "JOHN TYLER."

"*Washington, Feb.* 19, 1845."

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—WEDNESDAY, *March* 19.

THE SLAVE-TRADE AND THE AMERICAN PRESIDENT.

MR. ALDAM wished to ask a question of the right hon. baronet at the head of the Government, arising out of the Message of the American President, signed "John Tyler," addressed to the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States, received two days ago in this country. The passage to which he wished to direct his attention respected the conduct of England in reference to the suppression of the slave-trade and the treatment of liberated Africans, and was as follows:—"The slaves, when captured, instead of being returned to their homes, are transferred to her colonial possessions in the West Indies, and made the means of swelling their products by a system of apprenticeship for a term of years. It must be obvious, that while these large interests are enlisted in favour of its continuance, (referring to the slave-trade,) it will be difficult, if not impossible, to suppress the nefarious traffic, and that its results would be in effect but a continuance of the slave-trade in another and more cruel form; for it can be matter of little difference with the African, whether he is torn from his country and transferred to the West Indies as a slave in the regular course of the trade, or captured by a cruiser, transported to the same place, and made to perform the same labour as an apprentice, which is at present the practical operation of the policy adopted." He wished to know whether Mr. Tyler had been correctly informed, and whether he had any grounds for representing the condition of the liberated Africans as no better than that of slaves? (Hear, hear.)

Sir R. PEEL. I am obliged to the hon. gentleman for having given me notice of the important question he has asked; and I must say it is rather to be regretted that the President of the United States should send a formal message to the Senate and House of Representatives upon the subject of negroes (hear) intended to be reduced to the state of slavery, and captured at great expense by this country, without accurately ascertaining what is the condition in the British colonies of liberated Africans (cheers). I must also say, that if the President of the United States should think it expedient to appoint a commission for the purpose of going to the West Indian colonies of her Majesty, and ascertaining precisely the condition in which those who were slaves now are (hear, hear,) there will be every disposition on the part of the British Government to facilitate the inquiries of that commission (cheers), and enabling the President and Government of the United States to present to their own country the fullest and most accurate account of the condition of the negroes in the West India colonies (loud cheers). The message to which the hon. gentleman refers announces that on the capture of a negro intended for slavery, that negro is sent to the West India colonies, is subjected to an apprenticeship for a term of years, during which he is treated pretty nearly with the same severity and denial of free-will as in the state of slavery. Now, in point of fact, the state of apprenticeship is altogether abolished in the West India colonies (cheers). No negro, whether going there voluntarily as an immigrant, or sent there as a captured negro, is placed in a state of apprenticeship. Going there in whatever capacity, he is perfectly free and entitled to all the rights of freemen (cheers). Perhaps I may be permitted to state what is the course pursued by the British Government with respect to negroes captured by our cruisers. If they are captured on the coast of Africa, they are, generally speaking, taken to Sierra Leone, and there they are perfectly at liberty to determine for themselves whether they will go or not to the West India colonies (cheers). They are also at perfect liberty to determine for themselves whether they will go to the country of which they may be the natives (cheers). According to the provisions of the treaties we have with Spain, in the event of the capture of a Spanish trading vessel by a British cruiser, the slaves so captured are to be delivered up to the country to which the capturing cruiser belongs, and we have a vessel at the Havannah which in general receives the slaves captured in the neighbourhood of Cuba. It is true that individual slaves may not always be sent to Africa; it is quite impossible at all times to provide means of sending them thither; but if they are sent to the West Indies they are subject to no compulsion, and although they may voluntarily enter into contracts, there is no apprenticeship whatever (cheers). It is possible the mistake of the American President may have originated in this manner:—Our treaty with Spain was entered into in 1835; at that time the state of apprenticeship did exist, and the provision of the treaty was, that the captured negro should be sent to the British colonies and placed on the same footing as an apprentice; but since 1835 the state of apprenticeship has altogether ceased, and no captured negro introduced into the British colonies is now in a condition other than that of a free man (cheers.) In addition to the treaty with Spain we have a treaty with Brazil and Portugal. By the treaty with Brazil it was provided that the

captured slaves should be delivered up to the country on the coasts of which they were captured or to which the captured vessel belonged. It was the manifest intention of the treaty that captured slaves should become free men, but Brazil insisted on keeping them in a state of slavery, and declined to keep the engagements of the treaty with respect to the future disposition of the slaves. On repeated proof that such was the case, we signified to the Government of Brazil that the slaves, when captured, should not be delivered up to Brazil, unless Brazil consented to place them in a state of freedom; and we do keep a vessel at Rio Janeiro to recover the slaves captured on that coast, instead of delivering them up to Brazil, to be afterwards sent, as they may prefer, to the West India colonies, or back to Africa. Instantly on arriving in the West Indies they are in the condition of free men. I must say, I cannot but regret that this should have been the subject of a public formal message to Congress, and yet that the practice of this country should not have been understood (hear, hear). With respect to another allegation in that document—namely, that both the subjects of the United States and of this country are concerned in carrying on the slave-trade, I think that is a matter for very serious consideration (hear, hear.) I am not prepared to deny that fact; but I do hope, that if law can reach the application of British capital to the continuance of the slave-trade, it will be able to be enforced with a vigour that shall put an end to such practices (loud cheers).

COOLIE EMIGRATION.

Lord J. Russell presented a petition from the committee of the Anti-Slavery Society, signed by Thomas Clarkson, its venerable president, stating that, in 1834, 100,000 labourers from India had been introduced into the Mauritius; that the greatest immoralities had prevailed among them; that very evil consequences followed; that a great part of them were brought thither by crimps; and that the new regulations would be insufficient to prevent abuse. They had heard that there was a proposal for a loan of 1,500,000*l.* in Demerara and Trinidad, to be guaranteed by that house, and they prayed the house to refuse their sanction to such a proposal. They very much feared that the introduction of labourers nominally free, but in fact slaves, into these countries, would lead to imitation by other states holding slaves, and the revival of the slave trade. They suggested that the demand for labourers in the British colonies was fictitious; the real wants of those colonies were capital, a resident proprietary body, economical management of estates, a better mode of cultivation, the entire abolition of all remnants of the old slavery system, and the stimulus of wholesome competition in the home market (hear, hear).

Colonial Intelligence.

Jamaica.—Arrival of Emancipados.—We were yesterday glad to see the Mail Company's wharf thronged with passengers from Havannah; and on inquiry found that of these forty-eight were of the class of Emancipados, in search of a home and employment in this island. They seem strong, healthy people, and are chiefly composed, we understand, of tradesmen and domestics, with their wives and families.—*Jamaica Times.*

The *Jamaica Gazette* states that many more Emancipados were waiting for conveyance to that island; and that a great many had already sought refuge at Honduras, and other places in the Gulf of Mexico.

Immigration Quarrels.—It seems that the clique in London who wanted Lord Stanley to send 5,000 Coolies to this island are excessively angry with the House of Assembly for putting their *veto* upon it. The *Jamaica Times*, as the organ of this body, has begun to clamour for the abolition of the constitution, as a measure of retaliation. On this topic we find the following in the *Falmouth Post*:—

"Then came the boasted guarantee of 5,000 Coolies to Jamaica. As we have so lately exposed the infamous and dishonest conduct manifested in connection with this affair, we shall not dwell upon it again. If the chivalrous band require additional labourers for their estates, why not open their own purse-strings in order that their wants may be supplied? Why should we be burdened with oppressive taxation to enrich a few dozen of individuals, who drain the country, year after year, of its wealth, to enable them to 'live at home at ease?' They take from us all that they can get, but give us nothing in return; and when their deep-laid scheme to gain more than they already possess is frustrated, then forsooth, we are to be threatened with acts of vengeance."

British Guiana.—Immigration.—A prize-vessel, the *Ermine*, arrived yesterday, from Sierra Leone, with a cargo of rice and other commodities, after a passage of twenty-four days. The intelligence which she has brought, as it has been reported to us, is far from satisfactory or cheering. Our *Arabian* reached Sierra Leone on Christmas-day, and was to leave about the middle of January, but Mr. Butts, so far from being in need of supplementary vessels, could with difficulty procure a complement for that one transport. It is admitted, that in order to make it up, he was forced to accept of a transfer of 140 persons, liberated Africans, not resident for some time on the coast, but brought into Freetown on board of three recently captured slavers. Moreover, the gentleman himself was in bad health, worried to death by the almost unanimous opposition which he had encountered, and sick of the colony and everything connected with it. He was to take passage in the *Arabian*, and showed no inclination ever to return to Africa on the same service. When he makes his appearance here in person, we shall see what truth there is in this current representation of his condition and feelings. We apprehend the worst. From Sierra Leone we have but few immigrants, (two hundred and sixteen by the transport *Arabian*,) and, we believe, not very favourable news. The Berbiceans, although refused a licence, and informed that they would not obtain the bounty, have persisted in despatching their vessel, the *Roger Stewart*, on a similar errand to that on which she was so successful before.—*Guiana Times.*

Foreign Intelligence.

United States.—The Florida Fugitives.—We have a report of correspondence between the State Department, at Washington, and Mr. Everett, United States Minister to England, in reference to seven fugitive criminals, who, it is alleged, committed robbery, arson, and murder in East Florida, and afterwards escaped to Nassau. Their surrender is claimed by the general Government under the provision of the Washington treaty. The associate judges refused to deliver up the fugitives. Mr. Calhoun states that the position assumed by Great Britain is from the fact that the fugitives are slaves. The interview with the Earl of Aberdeen is considered unsatisfactory, and Mr. Calhoun urges a speedy decision by our Government, in strong and earnest language.—*New York Paper.*

From a late official document, it appears that the slave population of New Orleans, which in 1840 was 22,448, had decreased, in 1844, to 8,963.

Emancipation in Virginia.—A worthy and intelligent correspondent, who resides in Orange county, Virginia, writes as under date of October 2nd as follows;—"One of our neighbours has recently died, liberating all of his servants, (I believe about fifty-four,) all of whom recently set out for Ohio, where they are to be comfortably located on land of their own, which is to be bought by the agent who takes them out. His character is a guarantee that they will be advantageously located, and thus be enabled to do well for themselves. A likelier company of coloured persons I have scarcely ever seen on one farm."—*Baltimore Saturday Visitor.*

A Petition has been presented to the Legislature of Pennsylvania, praying that preliminary steps may be taken to amend the State Constitution, so as to confer the right of suffrage upon the persons of colour. An animated debate sprung up on the 8th inst. upon a motion to refer the petition to the Judiciary Committee, with instructions to report against the petition. The motion was finally adopted by yeas 17; nays 10.—*New York Evangelist.*

Annexation.—The resolutions on the annexation of Texas were agreed to by the Senate, by a majority of two, the votes being 27 for, and 25 against. The bill was then brought in, and rapidly passed through both houses; it was returned with the signature of the President on the 1st of April. The measure is stated to have produced but little excitement, both parties waiting to see how it is received by Texas. The Mexican minister has protested, and sent the act to his government by a special messenger.

Texas.—The Slave-trade.—A writer in the *Boston Atlas* gives the following very important testimony in regard to the origin of the Texan slaves:—"In Texas there are at present from 25,000 to 30,000 slaves. Nearly that number has been returned as taxable property. How came they there? The constitution prohibits their introduction, except from the United States. Has that number been transported from the South? It is in the power of Congress to obtain accurate information on this point at least. Let them apply to the collectors of New Orleans, Mobile, and Charleston, and ascertain the number that have been cleared from those ports. It will be found that not one-third of the number now there ever saw these states. Prior to the revolution there were, legally, no slaves in Texas. Immediately subsequent to that event, the public returns rated the number at about 5,000. Can it for a moment be believed that in seven years the natural and imported increase could exceed 20,000? To answer the question, how they came there, I will refer to facts well known in Texas. A direct trade in slaves has been carried on between Cuba and Texas—in the early part of her history, almost openly—latterly, in secret. Two full cargoes were obtained in Havanna in 1836, and landed in Texas, under the following circumstances:—It is the practice of the British Government to apprentice, for a limited time, the slaves captured and carried into Cuba. These apprentices were, under some pretence, purchased at a trifling price, and shipped to Texas. There they were sold as slaves—nominally for a given time, but in fact for life—and they and their descendants are now slaves for ever. To what extent the trade has been carried on can only be judged by circumstances. The immense profit that it offered, and the facilities of landing them on the coast, would lead to the belief that it has been practised to a great extent. If one can judge by the number of fresh negroes to be found upon the plantations in Texas, the importations must have been large indeed. From this source alone could have been realised the great increase of slave population in that country."

Cuba.—Notwithstanding the proclamation issued by the Governor-General O'Donnell prohibiting the traffic in slaves, still the landing of slaves from slave-ships is carried on as brisk as ever. It is stated that the vessels do not now discharge their human cargoes so publicly in Havannah, but are moved along the coast, where they do not meet with the slightest hindrance. Of course O'Donnell winks at this outrage on the treaty, as he serves his own avaricious appetite by the exaction of a fee of a doubloon on each slave landed.—*St. Lucia Independent Press.*

The *Heraldo* (Madrid paper) states that the minister for foreign affairs had received despatches from London announcing that the British Government was inclined to remove the pontoon stationed in the harbour of Havannah.

Martinique. — Caution to Voyagers. — Eleven persons have been detained in Martinique, and compelled to find security in a foreign country, because they had not a proper pass from this island! The authorities in Martinique have signified that it is their intention to prevent all persons landing there, unless they have the pass of the Governor's secretary, who is the only person duly authorized to grant such passes.—*St. Vincent's Gazette.*

Surinam.—The *Berbice Gazette* contains the following from Paramaribo, dated Jan. 29th:—"The Colonial Raad (or council) has been dismissed, as well as those in office who have opposed the Governor. The Colonial Raad is now composed of officials: this unexpected change

has caused party feeling to run high. Some of the displaced members see nothing but dissatisfaction and desertion among the slaves, and a total ruin to the colony. The officials, on the other hand, fear nothing, but are confident things will improve while his Excellency is supported by the Dutch minister. In the midst of all this the British arbiter of the Mixed Commission is prosecuted for defamation of character, and it must be acknowledged, deservedly. His conduct has been most reprehensible, and if allowed to go on, must give rise to discontent and revolt among the slaves. He seems to forget the origin of his commission, and even the character of her Majesty's Government. He has been warned by Lord Aberdeen, in several despatches, without effect; and has acted so incautiously lately, and so far committed himself, as to have caused a direct complaint against him to the Foreign Office. No doubt the result will be his removal, and perhaps the loss of his pension. That the system pursued by the Governor here has been sanctioned by her Majesty's Government at home is a proof that the prejudices of the colonists must give way, and that plans of improvement will be adopted to which no wise or humane man will object."

PORTUGAL.—On the 12th ultimo the second reading took place of the Message to the Throne, lately presented to the Chamber of Deputies, by the Viscount Sa de Bandeira, respecting the existence of slave-trade, and a system of slavery connected with it, to which the negroes of that settlement—nominally free—were subject. The message is based on a report of a captain-general of Angola, in 1814, which is important for the light it throws on the slave-trade, as it is carried on at the European settlements:—"The commerce in slaves requires that the bulky and heavy merchandize and stores which serve for it, such as powder, fire-arms, aqua-vitæ, and blue cloth, should be transported from Loanda to the interior by negroes, the only means of transport there, and on expeditions often at enormous distances from the coast. The native vassal chiefs of the tribes in the vicinity of Loanda were compelled to furnish the carriers for the slave-traders from their people, who received for this service an insignificant compensation of 640 reis (under four shillings); a service on which they were employed several months, and sometimes even years elapsed before it was concluded. The negroes naturally hated this employment, which took them away from their industrious pursuits, and engaged them in others of toil and peril, miserably paid, and subject to all kinds of hard usage. To escape from this occupation the people were constantly flying from their homes, sometimes before the requisition was put in force, sometimes during their service (as beasts of burden) in the caravan. The number required for this service was enormous. The decrease of population necessarily corresponded to it, and agriculture was deprived of the labourers requisite for it, sometimes temporarily, often permanently. This abuse, says the report, ought to be put an end to at once, *notwithstanding the opposition of the merchants of Angola*, who create commotions, and consider the interests of commerce destroyed, if the least alteration is made in the routine of their usages." Notwithstanding the representations of this upright Governor, the practice continues to the present hour. The project was enforced in a very able speech, and at considerable length, by the Viscount Sa de Bandiera. The Minister of Marine, a *soi-disant* anti-slave-trade minister, voted and spoke strenuously against the proposed address. He observed that the noble viscount, when in office in 1839, issued a decree against the practice referred to, but limited the prohibition to private persons, and allowed the Government to seize on the Carregatores, as heretofore. This, the minister truly observed, was an inconsistency and an injustice, and the explanation of the noble viscount did not get rid altogether of that charge. The noble viscount, no doubt, felt the inconvenience of the remark, and the truth of the old axiom, that there is no compounding with injustice. If it was unjust for slave-traders to rob these free men of their labour and their liberty, it was no less unjust for Government to deprive them of either. The speech of the Minister of Marine was an ingenious defence of the system he reprobated in words, and upheld with all his official might in arguments setting forth the difficulties and inconveniences of putting an end to the practice. The project was withdrawn by Viscount Sa de Bandiera. So much for the anti-slavery disposition of the existing ministry. The Minister of Marine said in his speech on the question above referred to, that the ministry had just received a communication from the English Government, wherein testimony was borne to the honest efforts of the Portuguese authorities to concur in the exertions made to put an end to the slave-trade in the vicinity of Angola and the Cape de Verds. It would be better for the character of the liberal ministry, if testimony could be borne to the honesty of the efforts of Government to suppress the traffic in regard to the insurance of slave-trade vessels at Lisbon—the existence, in that city, of a company whose capital is principally devoted to slave-trade speculations—and the facilities afforded at the Custom-house for the despatch of vessels cleared out nominally for the Cape de Verds, or for Principe and St. Thomas, in the prosecution of legal trade, but which may be reasonably suspected, nay, certainly known in many instances, to be intended for the coast and for the trade in men.—R. R. M.

EGYPT.—The Rev. W. Krusé, of the Church Missionary Society, in his tour along the Nile, between Cairo and the Cataracts, has journalized the following passages on slavery:—

"February 24th, 1844.—At Assouan. I called on Muallem Chaleel, but he was not at home. I was directed to the Divan of the Custom-house, where he was engaged in counting the slaves, for which the dealers here pay duty, this place being the frontier of Egypt. The importation of slaves into Egypt, I was told, upon inquiry, was annually decreasing; not on account of a change in the minds of the buyers and sellers in general, but from most of the inhabitants, who were formerly in good circumstances, having been reduced to poverty, and being, consequently, unable to buy slaves. Besides this, the heavy duty levied on the importation of slaves makes them dearer in the market; so that common people, who used formerly to keep a female slave as being cheaper than a servant, find it now too expensive.

"March 19th.—At Siout. About sunset we took a short walk toward the garden of Selim Pacha, near the river-side. On our way we passed a slave-boat fastened ashore. The poor creatures, who were all females, were seated upon the bank, together with their overseer. Two women had infants. One was a sweet little black boy. They were all merry, and apparently quite contented with their lot. It is generally observed that these slaves are trained, either by promises or threats, to assume cheerfulness whenever people approach them."

Miscellanea.

GALLANT, BUT DISASTROUS ENCOUNTER WITH A SLAVE FELUCCA, ON THE COAST OF AFRICA.—Extract of a letter, dated Her Majesty's steam-vessel Growler, Jan. the 19th, off Sea Bar:—"On the 12th of this month Lieutenant Lodwick, (the first lieutenant of that ship,) who had been away some time, cruising in the pinnace, on the look out for slavers, off this place, (the Growler being left to go down to Gallinas,) while he was guarding, during our absence, fell in with a felucca, which, on seeing the pinnace, hove to: and of course Lieutenant Lodwick thought, as she might have got off if she had chosen, she would show no resistance. When the pinnace, however, was within thirty yards, they observed a whole range of muskets, fore and aft the felucca. After this Lieutenant Lodwick cheered his men on to get up before she discharged this fearful battery; but no sooner was the cheer out, than the felucca opened on the boat. This was a staggerer for the poor boat, but fortunately this time they fired too high (the feluaca had now filled, and was going just as fast as the boat could pull). Lieutenant Lodwick now returned this with a round shot and one hundred and eighty balls in a bag. In the first volley from the felucca the rim of Lieutenant Lodwick's hat was shot through; but their second volley told with mortal effect; two men were shot dead, and Lieutenant Lodwick and two men severely wounded, Lieutenant Lodwick having been struck on the left knee and thigh. This left the pinnace with so few men, and having had six of its oars shot away, it was obliged to leave the field. We picked the boat up standing towards the Gallinas. I am happy to say Lieutenant Lodwick is reported out of danger, and that he will also save his leg. The other two men are doing well. Captain Buskle has represented to the commodore, in glowing terms, the gallantry of Lieutenant Lodwick on this occasion. The boat and gear were literally riddled. There are about seventy men on board this felucca; and the crew of a prize, captured a short time since, say that she is commanded by an Englishman, the crew consisting of English, French, and Americans. She was here about four months ago, and chased by every vessel on the coast, but always got clear. She carried away her rudder going over a bar, and was obliged to return to Havanna. There must have been a great many killed and wounded on board her, as the crew of the pinnace could hear the groans."—*Hampshire Telegraph.*

SLAVE-TRADE.—From a letter from St. Anne's Bay, dated the 5th ultimo, we glean the following: a British man-of-war brig, on a cruise, and last from Chagres, reports that on her former cruise she fell in with a slaver bound to Bahia. When first discovered by the brig, American colours were flying at the peak, and she appeared like an American merchant brig, and had she kept her course, no suspicions would have been entertained otherwise; but in consequence of her suspicious manœuvres, chase was immediately given, and the next morning she was overtaken, when she hauled down the American ensign, hoisted the Spanish flag, and prepared for fight. She was, however, captured without any loss of life on board the British brig, and five killed on the slaver. She proved to be a brig of 180 tons, with an American bottom, and had 340 slaves confined on board from the east coast of Africa, bound to Bahia. She was carried into Chagres, and taken charge of. Information had been received from her that a schooner had sailed in company with her, with a cargo of slaves for the same port. The brig, when she touched at Jamaica, was then in search of the schooner.—*American Paper.*

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

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